

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

- 101 NAME The inhabitants are called: *ḥāḥā*, "a Shilluk", plural *ḥāḥā*, "children of Shilluk"; "Shilluk"; the country is called *ḥāḥā* "country of the Shilluks." The word *ḥāḥā* perhaps means "black", vide below. A second name of the people is *ḥāḥā*, "descendants of *ḥāḥā*," this name is connected with Nyikang, the national hero of the Shilluks. The name "Shilluk" (singular Shilluki) is given to them by the Arabs, and has now become their common designation; it is of course derived from *ḥāḥā*. Other appellations, which are in use among the neighbours of the Shilluks, vide page 44.
- 131 EXTENSION OF THE COUNTRY The Shilluk country is situated on the western banks of the White Nile, from Kaka to Lake No, that is from about 10°5' to 9°5' northern latitude, a length of nearly 350 km, and a width of 5 to 6 hours. Near the mouth of the Sobat (Bahr El Araf, "Yellow River") a number of Shilluks live on the eastern shore of the White Nile, on both sides of the lower Sobat, chiefly on its northern bank. They extend about 35 miles up the Sobat, the last Shilluk village up river being Nagdyeb. There is also a group of Shilluk settlements at Shakwa El Shilluki (= Shilluk), near Bahr El Zeraf, on the right bank of the Nile, and on Khor Atar, south of Tonga (Tug). North of Kaka the first Shilluk settlements are found on Abe Island, on the north- and south-end of which there is a small Shilluk village each. Near Maaran Island there is also a Shilluk village on the right bank of the Nile. Again single settlements are met with on Maaran Island, Wad Dakana Island, and on the north-end of the Gezira Wad Boker.
- 103 The Shilluks themselves designate the extension of their country by naming the most northern and the most southern village and district of their Kingdom, viz. Mwome and Tonga (*Mwome*, *Tug*), which term corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Borsbaba.
- 131 174 In former times the country of the Shilluks seems to have been larger than it is now. According to older reports it not only extended further northwards, whence they were driven back by Arab tribes, but they are also said to have, in the 17th century, inhabited both sides of the White Nile south of Kawa; Kawa is situated a mile south of El Daeim; so, provided this report is right, they owned at that time a tract of territory nearly three times as great as that they inhabit to-day.
- 132 CLIMATE From January to April the climate of the country is dry and warm. April is

-71-

The Shilluk, owing to their geographical conditions, are more sedentary than the other Nilotic tribes, and there is no great transhumance as among the others. They also are more intent on cultivation, Dura (*sorghum vulgare*) being the chief crop. They use a shifting cultivation technique; a certain plot of land is cultivated from four to six years and then left for ten to twelve years. An agricultural authority (5) on the Sudan said that "cotton as a cash crop began in 1925. But the Shilluk as well as the other Nilotes, are poor cultivators. The biggest crop of cotton in a twenty year period was 760 tons of raw cotton, mainly from the Shilluk land. It was abandoned and sesame began to take on importance because the country consumes a fairly large amount of sesame oil."

According to the latest census available there are about 80,000 Shilluk. (6)

Anthropometrics

During my stay in the Shilluk land I have taken anthropometric measurements on forty persons - 34 men, 11 of whom are members of the Shilluk royal family, and 6 women, one of whom is also royal. The persons were all measured at Malakal Town, but they were from different parts of the Shillukland, covering the whole area from north to south. Naturally I have a greater percentage of people representing the central area, i.e. around Malakal, and the percentage decreases northwardly and southwardly. Here is a list of the villages and settlements to which my subjects belong:

Akurra, Nun, Pabin (Detwak district), Achop, Alol, Achag (north of Kodok), Kodok, Gokbari, Lal, Eyingar, (near Lal) Padit (near eastern end), Aolo, Bouky (n.w. Malakal), Orod-Rutu (eastern bank), Pemath, Thrujok, Kuogo, Pukan, Nyin-yar, Burr, Tonge, Atar und Nyijok.

I have taken the following measurements following the points described and defined in "Notes and Queries in Anthropology." (7)

Head length and breadth, nose length and breadth, facial and upper facial heights, stature and sitting height. On 8 of the men measured I recorded also the minimal frontal breadth and the bizygomatic breadth.

The tools I used were the sliding and spreading calibres, and the Anthropometer.

The results of my measurements are nearly identical with those of Professor Seligman (8) in both cephalic and facial indices and stature, but there is a considerable difference in the nasal index which I am not able to explain.

"1" Seligman (21)	C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	S. (cm)
Riad (34)	71.3	93.9	83.2	177
	71.6	85.0	84.5	177.2

From the distribution of the physical characters in different parts of the Shillukland - 12 of the men measured by us are from Gorr (northern Shilluk province), and 22 men are from Lank (southern Shilluk province) - we got a very astonishing result; it revealed that the Shilluk are not a homogeneous people as far as cephalic index and stature are concerned.

-78-

- 291 invested with a LAUO, "directly from the King, or from the settlement chief."
 621 (26) This ceremony shows clearly that the LAUO plays a symbolic role in the
 643 Shilluk political institutions. (27) These institutions are more or less matters
 of tradition, and traditions are rarely changed in a conservative society.

291 I have dwelt at length upon this problem, not only to criticize
 Hofmayer, but mainly to direct attention to one of the most important cultural
 characteristics of the Shilluks, in comparison with other Nilotic groups, and
 to show that this is not a newly acquired custom, but has deep roots in the past
 that can be explained by cultural contact or diffusion that affected only the
 Shilluk.

Notes.

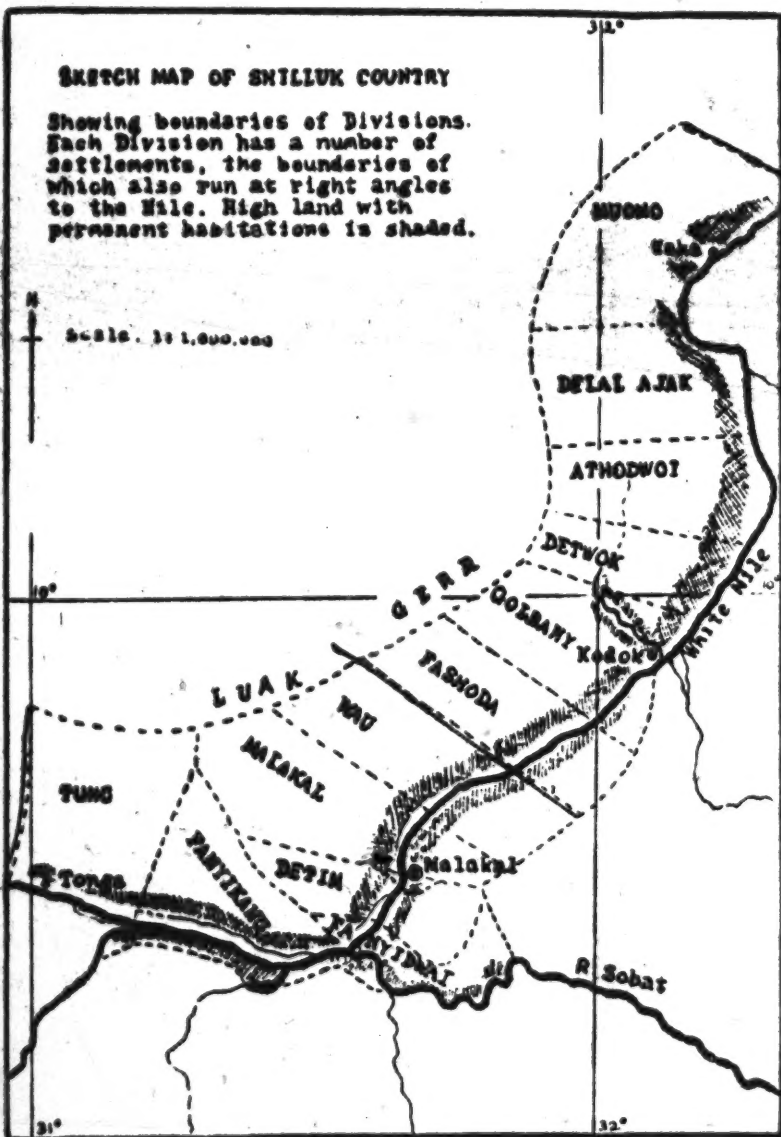
- 113 (1) Seligman, C.G. & B. Z. f Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932
 P.40
 (2) Hofmayer, W., Die Shilluk, Wien 1925, p 247.
 (3) The word means the "meeting-place of the people".
 (4) Fothill, J.D., Agriculture in the Sudan, London 1948, p.815
 (5) Ibid, pp. 820/821
 (6) Ibid, p. 812
 (7) Seligman, B. Notes and Queries in Anthropology, London.
 (8) "C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 13
 (9) Hofmayer W., Die Shilluk, Wien 1925, p 19
 (10) Seligman, C.G., Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, No 11
 London 1946, pp. 516/517
 The figures in brackets indicate the number of persons measured.
 (11) Seligman, C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p. 418
 (12) see above, Table "C" No A 4, and A 1, have three lines.
 (13) Butt A., 1952, p 28
 (14) see above, table "C"
 (15) see above, table "C", card No B 3, he was the son of king Yor, who adopted
 the name of Omar, and converted to Islam.
 (16) Seligman C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 49
 (17) Butt, A., 1952, p 28
 (18) Hofmayer, W., Die Shilluk, Wien 1925, p 344
 (19) Ibid, p. 345
 (20) Ibid, p. 345
 (21) This may be explained by the wish to let the right arm always free to throw
 spears or anything else. Also Seligman (1932, p 43) erred when he said that
 "the inhabitants of a village, Pathour, mark a scorpion several inches in
 length... on the shoulder - left for men and right for women- so that it is
 not hidden by the shoulder cloth."
 (22) Hofmayer, W., 1925, p 345/346
 (23) This is the case I have observed; the Shilluk who come under the influence
 of missions or who was converted to Christianity wear European shorts and
 shirts, and the Shilluk who was converted to Islam wears the usual Arab white
 dress, with a turban.
 (24) Hofmayer, W., 1925, p 39
 (25) Butt, A., The Nilotes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda, London 1925,
 p. 30
 (26) Ibid, p 30
 (27) There is a similar ceremony among the Fung of investing the new chiefs with
 a head dress.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

99

SKETCH MAP OF SHILLUK COUNTRY

Showing boundaries of Divisions.
Each Division has a number of
settlements, the boundaries of
which also run at right angles
to the Nile. High land with
permanent habitations is shaded.



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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

APPENDIX IV.

TABLE SHOWING ARRANGEMENT OF SETTLEMENTS INTO CONFEDERACIES AT THE TIME OF THE MANDIA AND THEIR PRESENT GROUPING INTO DIVISIONS.

Divisions (1940)	Settlements	Assessed number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
Muomo	Thworokit	117	Muomo
	Manam	90	
	Muomo	243	
	Aguoro	99	
	Thor	100	
	Abuor	64	
Delal	Akurwa	94	Delal
	Nun	139	
	Arumboth	88	
	Delal Ajak	138	
	Nyirudo	88	
	Arueth	57	
Athoduel	Thuro	197	Athoduel
	Dimoth	66	
	Athoduel	310	
	Nyilec	144	
	Fanyikang	50	
	Ogod	101	
Abiangyal	Abiangyal	174	Abiangyal
	Mal	82	
	Burbuk	52	
	Fabiu	162	
	Oticogo	77	
	Detwok	140	
Oticogo	Alal	97	Oticogo
	Kwocung	73	
	Acago	77	
	Ataro	63	
	Golo	377	
	Kodok	350	
Golba	Lemo	143	Golba
	Fadiang	284	
	Golba	226	
	Nyigir	466	

OLD BOUNDARY BETWEEN GER AND LUAR.

Fashoda	Wadman	170	Kwom
	Aguoro	112	
	Kwom	191	
	Lul...	230	
	Yod	173	
	Thuolong	220	
	Biu...	62	
	Fabur	86	
	Bol...	115	
	Nyingar	85	
	Both	63	

THE SHILLUK TRIBE

41

Divisions (1940)	Settlements	Assessed number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
NEW BOUNDARY BETWEEN GER AND LUAN.			
Ogod	Fathan	75	Ogod
	Fadit	108	
	Wau	243	
	Ogod Pac	140	
	Ogod Butu	176	
	Ogod Famadh	128	
Malakal	Malakal Fathuro	189	Malakal
	Malakal Arop Puot	106	
	Malakal Ocolo	61	
	Malakal Ayowangen	72	
	Wij Malakal	92	
	Malakal Thuorobenyo	71	
	Obwa	357	
	Awarajuok	269	Awarajuok
Dettim	Athokong	129	
	Adodo	141	
	Dur	232	Dettim
	Thuoro Dettim	196	
	Owaci	213	Fanyidwai
	Obai Abujop	161	
Fanyidwai	Obai Dego	101	
	Fakang	214	Fakang
	Falo	216	
	Fathuro	95	Fanyidwai
	Adhidhiang	117	
	Fanyidwai Pac	107	
Nyijok	Faju	267	
	Abujop	210	
	Odwar	63	
	Nyijok	226	non existent
	Nyanacan	73	
	Nagdiar	176	
Fanyikang	Agunjuok	43	
	Nyiyar	128	
	Fakwar	80	
	Akonare	67	
	Odujo	119	
	Nyilual	94	
	Bur	114	Fanyikang
	Wilnyang	150	
	Dyel	101	
	Wuobo	78	
Tonga	Nyilwak	279	
	Dor	97	
	Odong Tugo	100	
	Dis	96	Nyibang
	Nyiwado	124	
	Dhok Alal	117	
	Yom	355	
	Atigo	145	Tonga (Tung)
	Nyibodo	122	
	Ayadhajo	108	
	Fafunjo	104	

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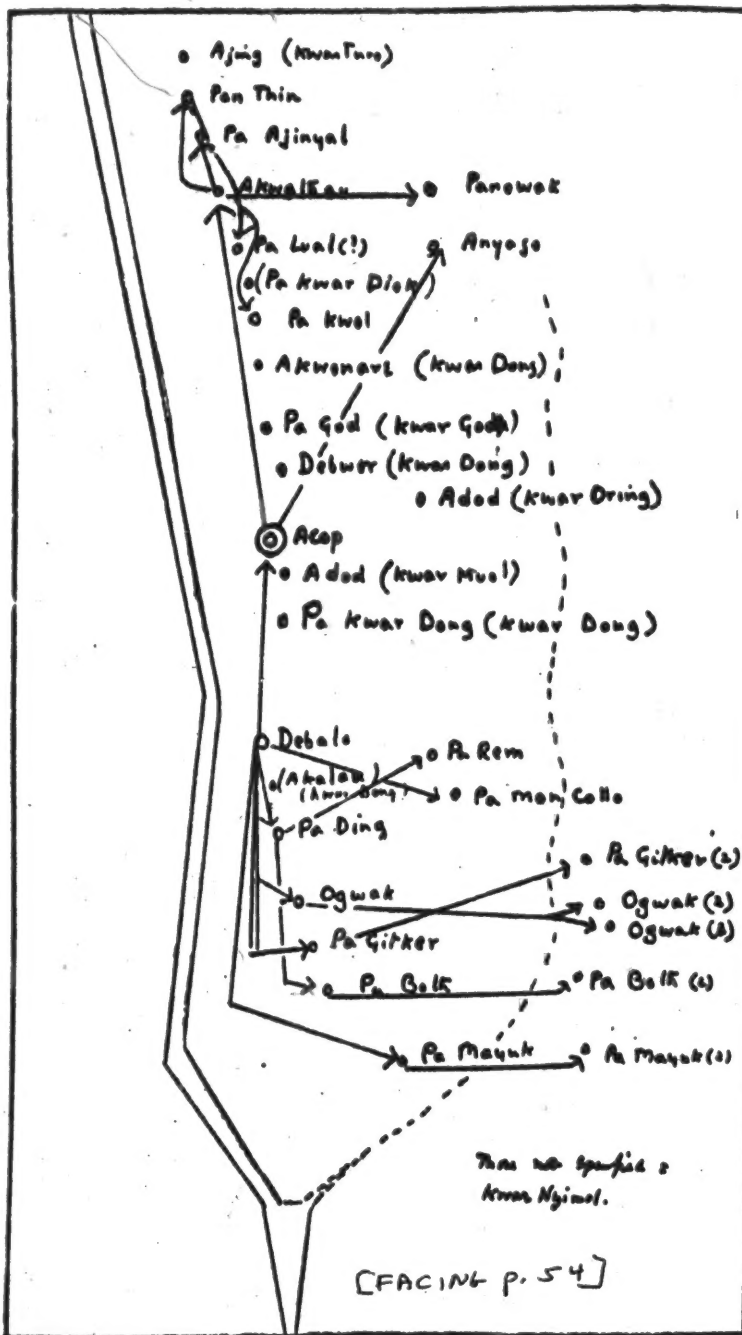
361 A new hamlet thus founded may remain a single homestead of no great
621 importance in the life of the lineage and none at all in the structure
of the settlement. On the other hand the young man who thus
breaks away from the hamlet of his birth and up-bringing may prosper
and acquire many wives. In this case the off-shoot will develop
with rapidity and after three generations may be as large as the
parent village. Other kinsmen may join and swell the number of
homesteads.

The Shilluk word for hamlet is *Pac* and has two meanings: truly
a *Pac* is a hamlet founded by the original immigrant to the settlement
where it is situated. Subsequent offshoots are, however, technically
included under the name of the central hamlet from which they spring.
Pa Kwar Ajang may thus refer to the original hamlet founded by *Ajang*.
After a few generations the number of associated hamlets and the
number of *Nyole Myer* may be considerable, and *Pa Kwar Ajang*
may be used to designate them collectively. Under normal conditions,
probably after three generations, but depending entirely on the increase
of progeny, and the number of homesteads built by descendants, the
offshoot will acquire a separate name and in every day conversation
will not be included under the title of the original hamlet. Hamlet
names among the Shilluk may or may not have the prefix *Pac* or *Pa*.¹

103 *Pa Kwar Ding* means the hamlet of *Ding's* descendants. Others have
361 no prefix and the etymological explanation is often hard to find.
621 Some at least have purely descriptive names. Thus *Pan Thin*
means the little hamlet and *Panowak* refers to a hamlet situated near
the bush. In the settlement of *Yoim Dhok Alal*, those hamlets recently
built on the north side of the water-course retain the same name as
[63] their parent hamlets and indeed are not distinguished from them.
Their inhabitants have not gained sufficient numbers or prestige to be
regarded as a distinct section of their lineage.

361 A more detailed examination and analysis of the structure and
621 development of a Shilluk settlement necessitates the use of an example.

[194] 1. The letters P and F are interchangeable in Shilluk. Thus *Pacoda* = *Facoda* (*Fashoda*).



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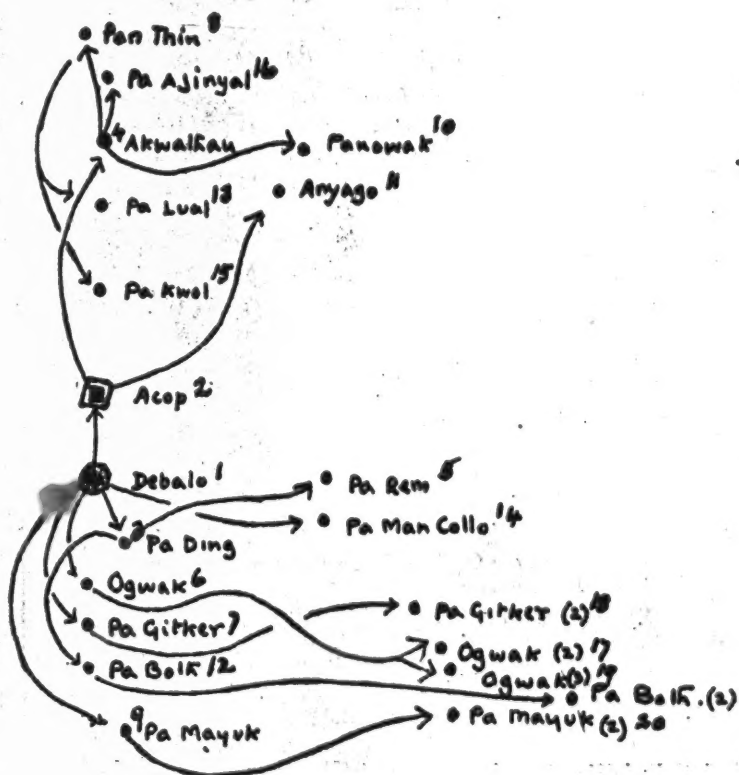
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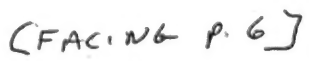
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[FACING P. 55]

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FIG. 2.

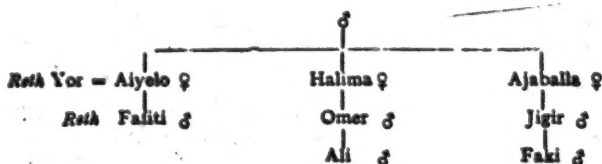


NOTE TO INTRODUCTION.

000 2. Sir Samuel Baker. *Ismailia* p. 102.

NOTES TO PART I

644 3. The relationship of the two most important men among the late *reth*'s maternal relatives is recorded below:—



Ali and Faki, descendants of Fafiti's mother's sisters, were present.

643 648 The Nuba of the Fungor area have considerable traditional connection with the Shilluk. The bamboos for Nyikang's body are brought from here, and gifts are exchanged between the *reth* and the local Nuba chief, whom we met at Fashoda some time after the installation when he was being invested with the insignia of a Shilluk chief.

643 361 103 4. *Keth* Fafiti was brought up in a village in Kodok section, but after 1917 the supporters of Coti Ajang were too numerous for comfort in Kodok section, and Fafiti, in fear of assassination, moved his village to Golbainy and called it Abogathow "fear of death."

534 766 643 5. The royal Shilluk drums had special houses built for them in Fashoda, and special custodians appointed for them. These drums no longer exist. Shilluk say that *reth* Fafiti, angered because *reth* Fadiet had held no funeral dance for *reth* Kus hurled the royal drums into the Nile, and held the dance for *reth* Fadiet with Fadiet's own drums. For the funeral dance of a *reth* (*wowo*) the drums are stood up on end in shallow holes prepared in the ground, and beaten with newly cut sticks of the *heglig* tree. For other funeral dances, the drums are mounted horizontally upon forked sticks.

THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF RETH DAK WAD FADIET 159

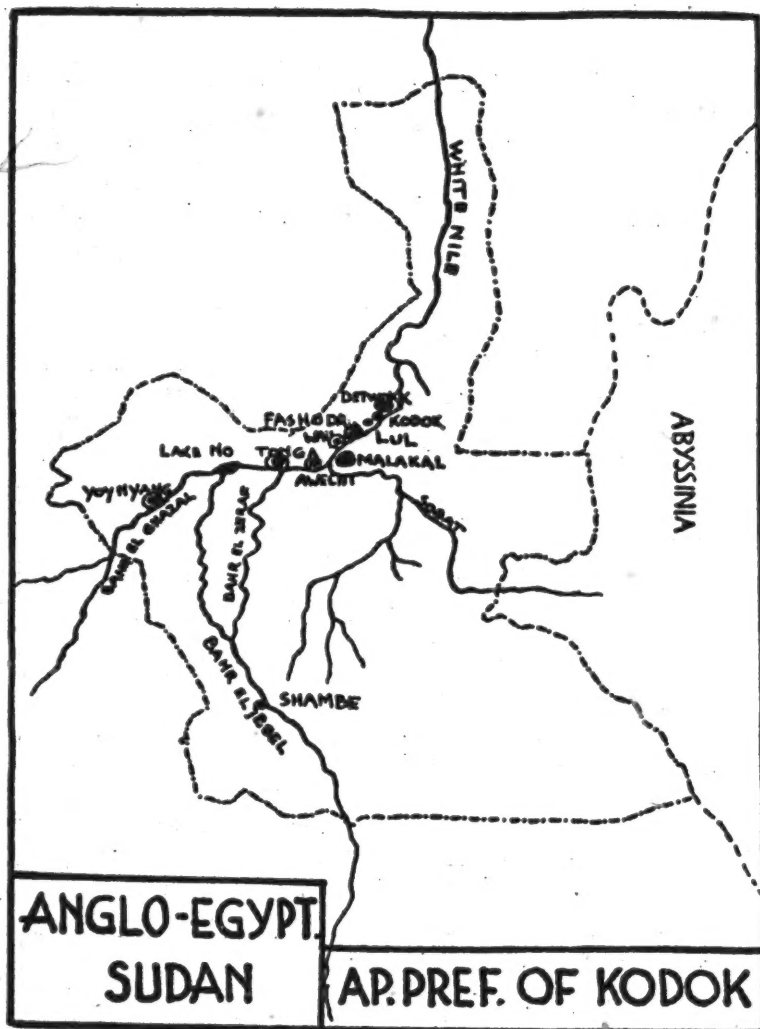
Preparations then began at the small village of Kujo in the settlement of Fanyidwai Pac in the southern Shilluk area. This village had been built by Dak Fadiet himself when he moved from his mother's home in Fathworo at the invitation of *kwanyireth* Gaw wad Ageng of Palo and was occupied by him from the age of about seventeen until his accession. The word *kujo* means literally, "I do not know" and apparently referred to his ignorance of the future and whether he would become *reth* or not, but expressed his pious hope.¹ Within this village two huts were built by him and known as his *gol dwong* (great house) and occupied by him when in residence. This is common practice with all Shilluk kings and the *gol dwong* eventually becomes the *kengo*, shrine or tomb, and is always sited in the village of their birth or adoption. These huts were fenced around in the manner of all royal shrines in preparation for the burial. These preparations were carried out by the kinsmen of *reth* Dak under the general supervision of the *ororo*. Yet despite his wishes, which were well known, his son Adieng caused further trouble by insisting that his father should be buried in the village of Pa Loc in Famadh with which he had had close associations. He went as far as to waylay the *ororo* when they were carrying the *jankwer*, sacred objects, in particular the ambatch seat (*kwom*) used by the *reth* and in which his spirit was said to be, to Kujo, upon which Fanyidwai, the division in which Kujo is situated and where *reth* Dak was brought up, rose in arms and only the timely arrival of the chiefs of both areas prevented a clash. It was generally accepted that Adieng was quite wrong in assuming that his father wished to be buried at Pa Loc, which would have been untraditional, and his motives are obscure.²

1 I have heard since that Kujo, as a hamlet, was not built until after Dak had been elected. The name Kujo therefore expresses his feeling of uncertainty before his installation at Fashoda.

2 I am indebted to Father W. Hurst, of the Mill Hill Mission, for further information on this incident. Apparently it is customary for the late *reth*'s ambatch seat (*kwom*, but to be distinguished from the sacred stool, also *kwom*, used at the installation ceremonies) to be carried to the place where his remains will finally rest almost immediately after his death. The *reth*'s spirit is manifest in this seat and it is often spoken of as the *reth* on this occasion. In the case of Dak wad Fadiet, the seat was carried from Fashoda to Famadh where it was placed in a hut which (by the people of Famadh) was reckoned to be his future tomb. The procession was accompanied by villagers on its way, each settlement turning out to follow as far as their boundaries. During the next few days, people from all sides marched to Famadh, *be kemo reth*, "to visit the *reth*." News soon reached the people of Fanyidwai, who descended on Famadh in force and carried off the seat and other sacred objects. In their haste, some of the sacred beads were upset on to the ground which was considered a misfortune, at any rate by the people of Famadh. It appears then that these objects must be carried to the *reth*'s final resting place and where they rest, there he will be buried. *reth* Dak had always shown particular favouritism to Famadh and Pa Loc was regarded as his personal village. The custom that the *reth* should be buried in the village where he was brought up, however, appears to have prevailed.

Where is Kodok?

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had been warned that the boat would arrive at Detwok about 3 a.m. At last I heard the raucous hoot which was so often to rouse me from my beauty sleep during the coming years; I bade a quick farewell to the other Fathers who had

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The People and their Origin

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that they once formed part of a great tribe which had its home in the district north-east of the Great Lakes of Uganda. This theory is supported by their tribal lore which says that long ago (the time is computed to be about the second half of the sixteenth century) their people came from far away, a locality indicated by a vague wave of the arm in the general direction of Uganda, and moved up into the Sudan. They did not take the direct line of the Nile as their route because of the vast swamps which lie between the southernmost part of the Sudan and the present Shilluk country, but turned north-west and made their first settlement in the region now known as the Bahr-el-Gazal. Of their leaders two are especially remembered: Nyikang and his nephew, Dimo. Nyikang seems to have been a mild and peace-loving gentleman, and Dimo truculent and quarrelsome. Tired of constant bickering, Nyikang gathered a few followers and, leaving Dimo in undisputed possession of the territory they then had, he followed the course of the Bahr-el-Gazal until, having left the great swamps behind him, he moved into the region of the present Shilluk country. He little thought that in leaving the fertile land of the Bahr-el-Gazal to seek peace for himself and his followers, he was not leading them into that plenty which is so often the handmaid of peace, but was condemning them and their descendants to hardship and want, to disease and hunger. Yet that is what happened. Weary of being constantly halted by the swamps, he seized upon the first sizeable stretch of country north of the swamp area, and there the migration came to rest. Tradition says that when he arrived at the entrance to this Promised Land, Nyikang lay down gratefully in the shade of a tree and uttered a fervent thanks to God; this incident has given its name to a village founded on that historic spot; Papwojo, the Village of Thanksgiving.

The travellers soon found that their new home was no land flowing with milk and honey; it was hard and inhospitable, scorched in the dry season and flooded in the wet, scarcely able to provide a living for man and beast, yet with it they had to be content, for further progress was barred to them.

643 handing the cares of office to a younger man whilst he spends his declining years in peaceful and happy retirement. He must rule till his death, and if through physical or mental debility he should show signs of allowing the reins of government to slip from his grasp, since nothing but death can divorce him from his office, then he must die. And his loyal subjects will take steps to see that he does die; his women will briskly smother him as he sleeps and so clear the way for the election of his successor. This, then, is the Shilluk idea and tradition of government. Nyikang still rules his people by his immanence in the person of the reigning king, and while all is well with the king, all will be well with the people. It is difficult to understand the dogged persistence of that belief in view of the chronic poverty of the Shilluk, the almost annual failure of their crops, the frequent visitations of pestilence which carry off large numbers of people and cattle, the terror and havoc which was spread throughout the country during the régime of the Mahdists when the tribe was decimated by slaughter and slavery, and all this be the king never so robust in mind and body.

643 During the past seventy years the absolute power of the
648 king has been severely shaken, at least in temporal affairs. When the Mahdists stalked the land, the kings were generally in hiding. Two were slain in battle, and one, falling into the hands of his enemies, was hanged and his head ignominiously displayed in Kodok, the headquarters of the Mahdist governor, but a few miles from the royal village of Fashoda.

After the defeat of the Kalifa at Omdurman, Kitchener commenced the formidable task of establishing law and order throughout the whole country. Fashoda, a collection of squalid mud huts on the Nile, blazed momentarily in the international headlines and then sank once more into its former obscurity. It might be mentioned here that the term "Fashoda" Incident is something of a misnomer. The historic meeting between Kitchener and Marchand took place, not at Fashoda, but at Kodok, some eight miles north of the Shilluk capital. The name was transferred to Kodok

Shilluk Government

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by the Egyptian rulers of the country during the nineteenth century, but it was never accepted by the Shilluk. 643
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One of the first steps taken by the new government towards the settlement of the Shilluk was the deposing and exiling of the king, Kur, whose conception of the royal duties and prerogatives boded ill for the health and well-being of such of his subjects as chanced to cross him in his wrath or thwart him in his desires. Hitherto many a Shilluk Urias or Naboth whose comely wife or humble possessions had aroused envy in the royal breast, had paid for it with his life. The tribal history even recounts that one king killed his wife because she could spit further than he could! With the removal of Kur, however, there went too the King's arbitrary power of life and death over his subjects, and although the government of the country and the administration of justice was still largely left in the hands of the king and his chiefs, it was henceforward to be administered under the eye of the local British officials.

The powerful position and the respect which a Shilluk king enjoys are not, however, without their price. The saying that 'Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown' may be trite, but it is true; with the pomp and circumstance of the royal state go the cares and worries of government which have undoubtedly caused monarchs many a sleepless night. But although the burden of their office may have been accepted as the price to be paid for its power and glory, and although too there are numerous instances in history of the wearer of the royal diadem dying at the hands of the assassin or the public executioner, still it is not the generally accepted thing that he must thus inevitably perish, and that to assume the purple is in effect to sign his own death warrant. Yet that is the way with the king of the Shilluk. As I said above, upon the physical and mental fitness of the king is deemed to depend the well-being of the whole people, and any weakening of his bodily powers or impairing of his mental faculties means that he must be put out of the way, so that the country may flourish under a more lusty and vigorous ruler. Moreover, it is the recognized right of any potential 643
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[669]